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*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

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## Chinese Enter Their Ninth Year of War

**Unequal Struggle Began in 1937 After Japan Had Completed Earlier Aggressions**

**WESTWARD RETREAT SAVED NATION**

**Discord Between Nationalists and Communists Is Additional Handicap to China**

This month, China, oldest and most painfully ravaged enemy of Japan, rounded out her eighth year of war. The 1945 anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge incident which opened Japan's large-scale aggressions against her was, in many ways, the happiest so far. It may, indeed, be the last China celebrates as a combatant nation. Entering her ninth year of war, she can for the first time see victory on a not-too-distant horizon.

China's present situation, however, is one in which light and shadow, the hopeful and the threatening, are commingled. Looking back over the years since 1937, the Chinese people can find ample grounds for self-congratulation and optimism. The military and industrial miracles of their resistance seem about to pay off in victory and peace. But Japan's defeat will by no means solve all China's problems. Rather, the end of the Far Eastern war may bring new crises out of China's old, unsettled difficulties and the equally serious new ones already germinating.

Chinese accomplishments in the past eight years, measured against Chinese handicaps, are impressive. When Japan struck, China was a weak nation in every sense. Her resources were, for the most part, undeveloped; her people impoverished and illiterate. Her territory had already been prey to invasion, Japan having seized Shantung in 1927, Manchuria in 1931, and three other provinces in subsequent years. Her government, still struggling to consolidate its position after a sweeping revolution, functioned amid chaotic disunity.

### Early Losses

It surprised no one that Japan's first campaigns after the 1937 attack were overwhelmingly successful. In the first three months of the war, China lost all her major coastal cities and, with them, 80 per cent of her modern industry. She lost control of the Yangtze River Valley, key to her entire transportation system. Her big food-producing provinces became battle-grounds and eventually fell to the enemy.

Stripped of her chief wealth, sapped by the civil strife of Communist and Nationalist factions, China seemed marked for early defeat. She could not even look for help from outside, for the nations which were to become her allies were, in this period, clinging to neutrality. To some extent, they were aiding her enemy, selling Japan the

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Chinese children buffeted by war

## Conquering Our Fears

By Walter E. Myer

A wise and successful man who, despite heavy responsibilities, seemed always to find satisfaction and joy in life, when asked how he managed to be so carefree and unworried, made this reply: "It has always been a rule in our family never to discuss unpleasant things at the breakfast table or early in the morning. At the beginning of the day I throw myself into my work, pushing everything else aside. Then when I come to a resting time, I call to mind all the problems, difficulties, and annoyances that are tending to bother me. I take them up one by one. If an unpleasant situation has arisen, I face the facts openly and in a businesslike way try to figure out what can be done about it."

"If I decide that some action on my part would be helpful, I lay my plans for taking that action. Once the decision is made I do not allow myself to ponder over the matter longer or to bring the decision up for review. My best efforts went into making it, so I let it stand unless the facts change or new evidence appears. I consider this a very important part of the procedure, for most painful, peace-destroying worry comes from indecision and from doubt about what is to be done. If, in the case of some problem, I decide that there is nothing I can do about it, I dismiss it from my mind."

"When I have given my best thought to the difficulties which are before me and have decided what to do about them or, in certain cases, that nothing can be done, I turn aside from the unpleasant situations and resume my work. The troubles which otherwise would worry and harass me are, to a great extent, conquered, because I give them my full attention at an appropriate time, but do not allow them to prey on my mind throughout my working hours. I can keep them from breaking in on my thought because I have developed the satisfying feeling that I am already doing about them everything that can be done and that vague and indecisive and inactive attention to them would be worse than useless."

There is little to add to that formula for the conquering of our worries. Perhaps many of us would find it impossible to maintain such a rigid daily program, but each one would find, if he made the effort, that he could do much with himself by the exercise of will. It is a fact that fear, worry, and anxiety are fiends which prod us night and day, destroying peace of mind, hindering the acquisition of happiness, preventing life from being the satisfying experience it ought to be.

The earlier in life one learns how to control these anxieties, most of which are quite groundless, the happier his life will be. If we face our difficulties openly and candidly, giving them a little concentrated attention instead of allowing them to hang constantly as shadows across our minds; if we take action when it can appropriately be taken and turn to other occupations when it cannot, we can dispel many of the clouds which darken our pathway.

## Congress Proposes More Veterans Aid

**Hundreds of Measures Introduced to Enlarge Benefits, Improve Present Forms of Aid**

**GI BILL OF RIGHTS IS AVAILABLE**

**Educational Assistance, Unemployment Compensation, Loans Are Among Benefits Granted**

Literally hundreds of bills introduced in Congress this session deal with the problems of war veterans. The lawmakers are trying to outdo each other in the attempt to authorize attractive bonuses, increased compensations for disabled veterans, more liberal loans, and other forms of assistance which the government is in a position to give.

So many of the measures overlap and duplicate each other that comparatively few of them will ever be taken up in the House and the Senate. That, of course, depends on the committees charged with studying veterans' legislation. It is up to them to select the measures for the attention of the entire Congress.

One bill up for debate at the present would make it legal for veterans to work in "closed shops" without joining the union (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, July 16). This has stirred up a stormy controversy, due to the belief that such a provision would widen the already present split between labor and at least some veterans.

### Changes Suggested

There is much more general backing for a bill which would make certain changes and improvements in last year's "GI Bill of Rights." It is proposed that rules for making government-guaranteed loans to veterans be liberalized; that veterans be permitted to take correspondence courses, if they wish, instead of attending regular college or vocational school sessions; and that veterans attending school be granted higher living allowances. A bonus provision which would have given each veteran \$1040 was removed from the measure.

Inasmuch as the present measure is just being launched for debate and other bills are likely to come up from time to time, veterans cannot be sure what future benefits may be in store for them. They can, however, rely on a number of aids which are already available. Among the most important are:

**Insurance.** A veteran can continue to hold the National Service Life Insurance which he obtained upon entering the armed forces. While he was in uniform, the insurance, up to a total of \$10,000, was sold to him at a much lower rate than he could have found in private companies. As a civilian, he must pay somewhat more, but the cost will still be less than the price of comparable insurance from a private company. Furthermore, he

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A veteran looks into the future

CESARE IN NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

## Benefits for Veterans

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may have received disabling injuries which would make him ineligible to take out insurance in the future. If so, it would be doubly advantageous to him to continue his government policy. The Veterans Administration in Washington, D. C., can give full information on the arrangements which should be made to keep the government insurance.

**Education.** A veteran is entitled to a year's free education—or its part-time equivalent. He may go to any approved school, and that includes a wide variety of colleges and trade schools. The government will pay tuition and fees, cost of books, supplies, and equipment up to a total of \$500 for an ordinary school year. In addition, the veteran receives \$50 a month for living expenses if he is single or \$75 if he is married or has a dependent. This, however, may be increased by act of Congress.

Depending on his total service in uniform, the veteran can have up to three additional years of free education, providing he makes a good scholastic record and was less than 25 years old when he entered the service. From any school or Veterans Administration office, he can obtain the necessary Rehabilitation Form 1950 with which to apply for the educational assistance.

Disabled veterans who are entitled to a pension and who have a service-connected handicap which prevents them from going back to their former work are eligible for special vocational training.

### Back to Work

**Employment.** The United States Employment Service is prepared to assist veterans in finding jobs in case they do not wish to go back to their old ones or, for some reason, cannot. The honorably discharged veteran, of course, has a legal claim on his old job if it was not a temporary job and if he was the first employee to be drafted from that job. If he was the second or third to be drafted from the

same job, he has no claim on it. Questions will undoubtedly arise as to whether it is "impossible or unreasonable" for an employer to rehire a former worker; the law makes this exception in requiring firms to restore jobs.

Government jobs may prove attractive to many veterans, due to the preference they receive in civil service ratings. A veteran is given an extra five points on any civil service examination he may take, and a disabled veteran is given ten. In many of the examinations, moreover, the disabled veteran needs only to pass the test, and his name automatically goes to the top of the list, no matter what his grade was. With these various advantages, veterans can outrank nearly all others who may be competing for the same government jobs.

**Unemployment.** If the veteran cannot find a job, he is eligible for a federal unemployment allowance which, for most veterans, amounts to \$20 a week for a maximum of 52 weeks. He must either have been in the service for 90 days, or have been discharged because of a service-connected disability.

This compensation need not be taken all at one time. However, it must be applied for within two years after discharge, or within two years after the end of the war—whichever date is later. Application can be made on Veterans Administration Form Number 1389.

The current proposal—to pay each veteran a bonus of \$1040—would be something in addition to unemployment compensation, but so far it is given little chance of passing. Some type of bonus, however, may be passed in the future, as was done following World War I. The present "GI Bill of Rights" states that if this is done, a veteran's bonus will be diminished to the extent that he has taken advantage of present benefits, such as allowances for education or unemployment.

**Loans.** The government's backing

for loans to veterans is by no means a handout or bonus. It is simply a guarantee which should make it easier for the veteran to borrow money from a bank or other lending institution. The government says, in effect, to the lender, "If you will lend money to this veteran, the government will guarantee a part of the loan against possible failure to repay."

In actual figures, the government guarantees 50 per cent of the loan up to a maximum amount to be guaranteed of \$2,000. Thus, if the loan is \$1,000, the government will stand back of \$500. If the loan is \$4,000, the government guarantees \$2,000. If the loan is more than that, the guarantee remains at \$2,000.

### Caution Advised

It remains important for the veteran to enter into the loan as carefully as if he were borrowing the amount on his own. For failure to pay will affect his credit rating in the future. But if he feels that he needs the money—whether to go into business or buy a house or farm—and can repay it, the government guarantee will ease the way.

The big question which many veterans are facing—and which is making it hard for them to work out the necessary arrangements—is whether now is the time to go into debt to buy high-priced houses and farms. Some veterans are criticizing both the government and lending institutions for failure to approve loans on the grounds that the property involved is grossly overpriced.

Due to this criticism, there may be an effort to liberalize the lending process. The measure now up for consideration in Congress would do this to a certain extent. On the other hand, it may be to the veterans' best interest, in the long run, that they do not find it too easy to assume a debt for property until prices on the real estate market drop somewhat.

**Medical Care.** Veterans suffering from chronic ailments which will require longtime treatment are often discharged directly from military hospitals into veterans' hospitals. Other disabled veterans can come back when-

ever they need care. In addition, the Veterans Administration supplies artificial limbs, hearing aids, and so on.

Any veteran, of course, can obtain free medical or dental care for a service-connected disease or disability through the Veterans Administration. Veterans whose injuries or ailments are not service-connected can likewise obtain hospitalization and medical care if they cannot afford it otherwise. There are also homes for veterans who cannot support themselves because of disability, injury, illness, or old age.

**Pensions.** The pensions for disabled veterans range from \$11.50 to \$265 a month. The amount depends upon the type and extent of disability. This applies only to service-connected disabilities. For veterans who are permanently and totally disabled, but not from service-connected causes, there is a pension of a straight \$50 a month, with an increase to \$60 when the veteran has been on the roll 10 consecutive years or reaches the age of 65. All such pensions are reduced during the time that a veteran may be in a Veterans Administration hospital or home.

**Death Benefits.** When a member of the armed forces dies in service, his next of kin receives a lump sum payment equal to six months of the deceased person's pay. Payments also begin on the National Service Life Insurance which the man may have had.

In addition, dependent survivors receive death pensions. A widow receives \$50 a month. A widow with one child receives \$65. For each additional child, she receives \$13. There are also payments for parents and for dependent children whose mothers are not living. Smaller pensions are paid to dependents of veterans who had service-connected disabilities, but who died of other causes.

Veterans and their families who would like fuller details on all forms of government assistance should obtain a copy of "Veteran's Guide" by Dallas Johnson (New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, 10 cents). It gives a thorough picture, and tells the veteran exactly how to go about securing the type of assistance in which he is interested.



# More Industrial Disputes Foreseen

**D**URING the weeks which have passed since the end of the war in Germany increasing attention has been given to labor unrest in newspapers and magazines throughout the nation. Judging from the headlines alone, one might get the impression that a vast wave of strikes is sweeping the country. The facts do not warrant this assumption, but they do indicate that during the remainder of the current year there will, in all probability, be a concerted movement by organized labor to maneuver itself into position for a showdown fight on the industrial problems which must inevitably grow out of reconversion.

Unfortunately the violence which has accompanied strikes in the past—violence on the part of both strikers and employers—has given the people of the United States an inordinate fear of labor's chief weapon in its struggle to gain recognition and the right to collective bargaining. Too many readers never progress beyond the "strike" headline to find how many workers are actually involved or what claims are being made by the union and the employer.

Since the outcome in the growing struggle between labor and management will directly affect the whole economy of our nation, it is necessary for the average citizen to inform himself on the actual extent of industrial strife and the varied reasons for it. There is little doubt that the easing of wartime controls will bring more strikes, for during the war labor gave up the strike as a weapon. Actually, however, the number of workers on strike at the present time is small compared to the total non-agricultural working force. On July 15, for example, there were about 40,000 workers idle on account of strikes throughout the United States. That meant that 40,000 out of a total of 39,000,000 workers were striking, or slightly more than one out of every thousand workers.

## Union Viewpoint

That this number is bound to increase is indicated by the strong stand being taken by the forces of organized labor. They are warning their members that now is the time to act. The line which they are taking in their own publications is that the future for the American worker for many years to come will be determined by the policies which the nation adopts as the



Industrial disputes at present come before the War Labor Board, whose chairman is George W. Taylor.

war ends. They point to the fact that Congress has not yet acted on President Truman's request for "adequate emergency unemployment compensation." They can see no indication that a definite national wage policy for the reconversion period has been adopted. They consider the government's wage policy a basic factor in determining the worker's future living standards, industry's postwar markets, and the possibility of making full production and full employment possible.

In the absence of legislation strengthening their position, the unions will probably revert to their old weapons in their attempt to secure compliance with their demands. As a result of the war, organized labor is admittedly in the strongest position it has ever occupied. Of the total union membership of 13,750,000 estimated at the end of 1944, five million members had been added to the rolls since the beginning of 1940. A part of the job which organized labor is setting for itself is to maintain these membership gains in the face of the expected reduction in overall employment.

The unions are not unaware of such predictions as that made by *Business Week* magazine, whose editors wrote early in June:

"There has always been an ebb and flow in the union tide, and today organized labor is on the eve of a decline. A decrease in employment in the heavily unionized industries such as aircraft and aluminum, shipbuilding and steel will take its toll. The mass job-shifting which will attend reconversion, the retirement from the

labor market of many marginal workers, and the replacement of many workers by veterans are imminent changes sure to net fewer dues-paying unionists."

Labor statistics reinforce the unions' conviction that "now is the time to act." Between the end of the war in Europe and middle of last month between 500,000 and 1,000,000 workers were laid off. However, the fact that only 100,000 additional claims for unemployment compensation were entered in the first six weeks after V-E Day indicated that the greater number of those laid off were emergency workers who had planned to leave their jobs when they were no longer needed.

Chairman Julius A. Krug of the War Production Board has estimated that 1,900,000 workers will be unemployed by the end of August, more than twice the number in January and February of this year. The American Federation of Labor pessimistically expects four million discharged war workers and one million ex-service men to be seeking employment by September. The unions are skeptical of Chairman Krug's belief that by December reconversion will have made jobs for all five million unemployed.

## Keeping Jobs

The first task of organized labor is to see that its members keep their jobs, for the additional security achieved is the greatest spur to union membership. Many of the strikes which occur in the coming months will be a result of union attempts to increase their security guarantees. The form which union security takes may be one of several. In order to understand the different controversies which will be discussed in the news during the remainder of the year, we need to know what these security guarantees involve. They are usually referred to in contracts under the following titles:

**The closed shop.** Under a closed shop agreement an employer may hire only union members, and they must be hired through the union. This guarantee is considered the most desirable by most craft unions. The construction industries contracts are almost exclusively closed shop.

**The union shop.** Under a union shop agreement the employer may hire anyone so long as the new employee agrees to apply for union membership after a specified time has elapsed. The union shop is prevalent among industrial unions which cover a number of varied occupations within one industry. The greater part of mining contracts provide for union shops.

**Maintenance of membership.** This is a security guarantee granted to the union which provides that each union member must remain a union member in good standing until the contract expires. Many unions in the manufacturing field operate under such contracts.

**Preferential hiring.** This contractual relationship with a union is the least used technique for giving unions security. Under its regulations, the employer is bound only to give preference to union members when he is hiring new employees.

**Recognition.** When recognition only is awarded the union in a contract it has no privileges or controls whatever, aside from being recognized by the employer as the official bargain-

ing agency for its worker-members.

Some of the other demands of organized labor will probably be for a minimum wage guarantee, for higher base pay to offset the reduction in workers "take-home" pay resulting from the shorter work week, for better conditions under which to work, and in some cases, for shorter hours. The demands for higher base pay and a guaranteed minimum wage grow out of labor's conviction that reduction of workers' purchasing power at this time would be a tragic mistake, for labor spokesmen insist that industry needs more civilian buying to offset the reductions in government purchases.

An essential part of the problem of

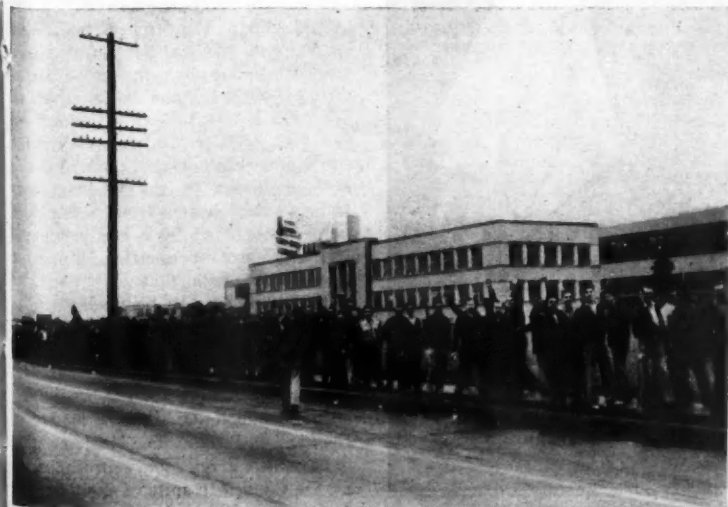


THE RETURN OF WAR VETERANS TO PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT ALREADY IS RAISING QUESTIONS ABOUT SENIORITY RIGHTS.

job security is the question of seniority. This brings up the whole issue of the discharged veteran and his integration into the domestic labor force after the war. Many unions and employers are in favor of granting the returning serviceman seniority equal to the years he spent in the armed services—that is, allowing the returning serviceman to count the years spent in service as though he had been working steadily at his old job. Although no one begrudges the serviceman this consideration, there will undoubtedly be cases in which a serviceman who actually worked for a very short period on a job will have seniority over a man hired during the war who has worked much longer on the job and who has achieved a higher degree of skill.

At the present time in the United States District Court in Brooklyn, a 28-year-old veteran has filed a suit which may prove to be a test case to determine whether or not a veteran is actually guaranteed his former job or its equivalent for one year after the job has been restored to him. This question together with the problem employers are already facing—must they fire good workers with longer years of seniority in order to rehire employees who were drafted?—has been variously answered by officials of the War Labor Board and Selective Service and must eventually be decided in the courts.

On the whole unions are attempting to make concessions to favor servicemen wherever possible. They are keenly aware of the possibility that hostile groups will attempt to drive a long-lasting wedge between veterans and labor.



It is feared that strikes may increase in number during the months ahead as unions and employers engage in industrial disputes

# The Story of the Week

## Conference at Potsdam

Sixteen miles from Berlin, in the suburb of Potsdam where Prussian rulers once held court, the historic Big Three Conference has been in session now for a week. Because of strict censorship surrounding the meeting, full information about its decisions may not be available for some time. However, informed observers believe that President Truman, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin are considering plans for speeding the war in the Pacific, with possible help from Russia, and laying much of the groundwork for the forthcoming peace conference.



Thousands of former slave laborers under the Nazis are continuing to move about Europe. The ones shown here are about to board box cars after receiving a ration of bread supplied by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Here are the major items believed to be on the conference agenda:

1. Details of joint administration of Germany.
2. Reparations from Germany: shall they be in money, goods, or labor? It is reported that Russia is asking 4,000,000 German workers to rebuild her shattered cities, and that a sum of \$20 billion is being considered as the total to be assessed against the Reich.
3. Recognition of the Russian-sponsored governments of Austria, Finland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary.
4. Question of Italy's admission to the United Nations (Italy has recently declared war on Japan), and of peace terms for Italy.
5. Preliminary consideration of the numerous conflicting territorial claims being advanced for such trouble spots as Transylvania, Macedonia, Klagenfurt, the South Tyrol, Teschen, southern Albania, the Italian Riviera, and the Dodecanese Islands.
6. The question of the Dardanelles: shall Turkey give in to Russia's demands for internationalization of these vital straits?
7. The Anglo-Russian conflict over Middle Eastern oil.
8. The French problem in Syria and Lebanon and the British problem in Palestine, both involving consideration of the power of the new Arab League.
9. Providing food and coal for Europe next winter.

## Transfer of Populations

Another major question being considered by the Big Three at Potsdam concerns the transfer of populations

among European nations. It is widely recognized that the existence of large minority groups—especially in Eastern Europe and the Balkans—has been responsible for many of the bitter hatreds, the irredentist movements, and the expansionist ambitions which led up to this war and kept Europe in turmoil in the decades before the war. If Europe, therefore, is to enjoy peace in the future, one of the obvious prerequisites is that wherever possible nations exchange minority groups so as to make their population makeup as homogeneous as possible.

Czechoslovakia has been waiting only for the approval of the Big Three to begin removing the unreliable German and Hungarian residents of its border areas. The people of this nation remember only too well the trouble they had with the German inhabitants of the Sudetenland, on Czechoslovakia's western fringe, in the years just preceding the Munich crisis. They recall the pro-German organizations which carried on constant propaganda against the Czechs and stimulated sympathies for Hitler's Reich among the Sudeten Germans. And they remember that Hitler used the existence of the Sudeten Germans as the basis for his territorial demands at Munich, which were met by granting to him all the Sudeten area.

Czechoslovakia now believes that lasting internal tranquillity for the Czech people can come only if 2,500,000 Germans and at least 400,000 Hungarians are sent back to their mother countries. The job of transferring will take perhaps a year and a half, for the Benes government has indicated that it means to carry out the program as humanely as possible, with a minimum of suffering for those who have to leave their homes. The removal of these 3,000,000 people will leave no vacuum, for Czechoslovakia's border regions have been heavily overpopulated and overindustrialized.

Poland, too, is expected to make large population transfers with Germany, and the vexing questions of Trieste, Transylvania, and Macedonia may finally be solved only by such methods.



The city of Toledo, Ohio, is ready to undertake a great postwar reconstruction program. In order that the people of the city can visualize the proposed changes, this \$250,000 model of "Toledo Tomorrow" has been set up.



The United Nations Charter is now in the hands of the full U. S. Senate after a favorable report from the Foreign Relations Committee (above). The committee gave almost unanimous approval, with only the vote of California's Senator Hiram Johnson being cast against the charter.

## FEPC Decision

The compromise finally reached after six weeks of bitter debate in Congress on the question of prolonging the life of the Fair Employment Practice Committee has brought an end to the discussion if not to the problem. The FEPC has \$250,000 to spend during the fiscal year just started—less than half the sum originally recommended by the Bureau of the Budget. With this money FEPC will try to continue its work of preventing employment discrimination in war industries on the basis of race, color, or religion.

If Congress fails to grant further funds, the agency is required to wind up its work within the year, using \$100,000 of its appropriation for that purpose. This leaves approximately \$13,000 a month for operating expenses during the year, a sum which most observers feel is too small for any kind of accomplishment. Thus the "compromise" is viewed in most quarters as a victory for the Senate group which had opposed the agency.

It is generally expected that there will be repercussions from this battle. For one thing, the violent display of

racial animosity in the Senate during the debate is not calculated to spread oil on troubled waters, and will play its part in increasing racial tension and friction during the difficult post-war years.

In addition, there will likely be long-run political effects. Although President Truman made a personal appeal for the FEPC, the fight against the agency was led largely by Democrats. Republicans will make political capital of this fact in appealing for votes from minority groups, even though many Republican congressmen were lukewarm either about supporting the present temporary FEPC or about making good on the pledge in the Republican platform promising a permanent FEPC.

Meanwhile, consideration of the permanent FEPC bill is stalled until the House reconvenes next fall, when efforts may be renewed to force the bill to the floor from the Rules Committee pigeonhole.

## Failure at Simla

With the breakdown of the parley at Simla, the Indian question is again deadlocked. Those who had looked to this conference as a likely forward step on the road to more cordial relations between Britain and her No. 1 colony—and eventually to freedom for India—now see only disappointment in the wake of the futile discussions.

The Simla Conference had been called on the basis of British proposals that the Indian government be reconstituted with Indians taking over all positions in the Viceroy's Council except that of War Minister. Although the members of this new Council would still be chosen by the Viceroy, they were to be selected from a panel of names submitted by a conference of Indian leaders representing all parties. It was at Simla that this panel of nominations was to be made.

Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy, has publicly taken the blame for the failure of the meeting, but observers in India place responsibility for the breakdown on Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League. The Moslems were to have been given equal representation on the Council in spite of their numerical inferiority in India's population, and the Viceroy had agreed to allow Mr. Jinnah to name four out of the

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five Moslem members. The fifth was to have been named in London, and presumably would have been a member of the Congress Party, which numbers both Moslems and Hindus in its membership and which intended to nominate members of both religious groups in its panel.

Mr. Jinnah insisted, however, that no Moslem should sit on the Council or represent India's Moslems unless he was a member of Mr. Jinnah's League. The Moslem League, therefore, alone among India's political groups refused to submit a list of nominations to the Viceroy or to accept the Viceroy's suggestions.

It is reported that public sentiment among India's politically conscious groups is strongly critical of Mr. Jinnah. This fact may make him more agreeable to compromise during future attempts to solve the Indian political question.

### Fraternizing Ban

The ironclad regulation against fraternizing with Germans which had been in operation for American and British soldiers from the time of their entry into Germany was finally relaxed last week. Probably no rule of conduct had been the object of such widespread criticism among members of the armed forces as had the nonfraternization rule.

Under the changed regulation, American and British occupation troops in Germany and Austria are now allowed to walk and converse with adults who are citizens of the occupied territory. However, such fraternization as is allowed under the orders issued by General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery is still limited to public places only.

The original rule, which applied to all enemy nationals, had been regarded as unenforceable so that one exception had to be made earlier when troops were informed that the rule did not apply so far as children were concerned. The difficulty which military police encountered in trying to enforce the ban was attributed to the natural friendliness of American soldiers and their wish for feminine companionship without regard for political complexion.

General Mark W. Clark, commander of the United States occupation forces in Austria has indicated that the rules



Makers of the sturdy military jeep have a bright postwar future planned for the versatile vehicle. It will pull trailers and wagons (left), and it will be hitched up to furnish power for farming operations (right)



regarding fraternization there may be subject to further change, for American policy in Austria has been set forth as designed to help Austria establish herself as an independent nation and it is thought that a more friendly attitude on the part of occupation troops would do much to counteract Nazi influence.

### Nationalist Movement

With Nazi Germany only just defeated, many Americans wondered last week if Hitler's ideas had found a new home in the United States. The question was raised by a series of articles which appeared in many Scripps-Howard newspapers throughout the country. The articles described the attempts of a former senator of the United States, Robert R. Reynolds, to weld dissatisfied groups into a political action body which he plans to call the "Nationalists Party." Not only the name, but the aims and methods of the proposed organization sounded amazingly similar to the National Socialists, or "Nazis" of defeated Germany.

In his first article, Eugene Segal, veteran Scripps-Howard staff writer of the *Cleveland Press*, charges that Reynolds and the other leaders allied with him have worked out a "scheme of operation and organization which indicated that the Nationalists leaders have adopted in large part the methods by which Hitler's Nazis rose to power." He charges that the Nationalists are following the Nazi techniques even to the extent of sending an ex-convict

Nationalist from Chicago into Mid West communities to organize hoodlums into terroristic forces, reminiscent of the old Ku Klux Klan.

Reynolds is making plans to have the party in shape soon enough to enable it to put forth candidates for congressional seats in the 1946 elections. "With a program of racial hatred, exploitation of labor strife, and glorification of dictatorship, it expects to gather enough strength by 1948 to influence the next presidential election."

The Nationalists, according to Segal, are anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-foreigner. Their policy is to gather together all the groups in this country who have real or fancied grievances against the federal administration and its policies and organize them into one group which Reynolds boasts will become a dominant force in American politics.

In addition to the Nationalists Party, Reynolds is organizing a Nationalists Confederation, to which independent groups can belong while retaining their money-raising and membership functions, and a Nationalists Committee, a so-called "educational" body, which would collect money and disseminate propaganda against the minority groups it opposes.

As might be expected from the list of leaders involved, the Nationalists party is opposed to all international agreements such as that embodied in the San Francisco charter. According to the Nationalists, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill plotted the Jap attack on Pearl Harbor during the conference on the Atlantic Ocean."

### Impeachment Defects

The charges of corruption recently leveled at Federal Judge Albert W. Johnson of Pennsylvania have once again raised vigorous criticism of our faulty impeachment procedure. According to American constitutional practice, if the House of Representatives decides to impeach Judge Johnson on the basis of evidence assembled by a House committee investigation, the case must then be tried by the entire Senate just as though it were a jury. With a crowded schedule on such vital issues as Bretton Woods and the United Nations Charter, the Senate is ill prepared at this time to drop its legislative work and try an ordinary impeachment case.

Because this impeachment procedure is so cumbersome, it has worked very unsatisfactorily in the past, even when Congress had little else to do. This is

clearly indicated by the fact that in our entire history the House of Representatives has impeached only eight judges, and the Senate has convicted only four of those. There were a number of other cases which the Congress did not bother to pursue because the judges resigned under fire, but investigation might have been held had the process not been so long.

In the Johnson case, the House Judiciary Committee has been holding hearings for more than a year and a half already, amassing hundreds of pages of testimony. Most Senators feel themselves too busy to weigh such voluminous evidence carefully, or to attend the hearings. Thus when it comes time to vote they feel reluctant to decide against a man without being thoroughly familiar with the evidence. As a result it is extremely difficult to secure the required two-thirds Senate vote necessary for conviction.

## NEWS QUIZ

1. What were the main losses suffered by China early in her war with Japan?
2. What price have Chinese Communists demanded in return for possible cooperation under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership?
3. What attitude has Russia taken so far toward the rivalry between the Communists and the Nationalists in China?
4. Briefly list some of China's other leading domestic problems.
5. Why would it be advantageous for a veteran to keep up his National Service Life Insurance?
6. What, in general, are the educational benefits granted to veterans?
7. Why may government jobs prove unusually attractive to many veterans?
8. Why is it a good idea for a veteran to exercise care before entering into a government-guaranteed loan?
9. Tell where the region known as Macedonia is located.
10. What situation may produce discord between labor unions and war veterans if a satisfactory solution is not worked out?

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German civilians in the city of Aschen are eager to purchase copies of the first newspaper to be published in Germany since the country's surrender. The paper is under close American supervision.

The American Observer: Published weekly throughout the year (except Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter holidays, and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the Civil Education Service, 1733 K Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or \$6 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week. Entered as second-class matter September 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Editor, Walter E. Meyer; Managing Editor, Clay Cox; Executive Editor, Paul D. Miller; Senior Editor, J. Hubert Anderson; Associate Editors, Virginia Black, Anne Crutcher, Helene H. Morse, Wilbur F. Murra, Helen R. Sattley, Kenneth F. Weaver; Art Editor, Kermit Johnson.



Inflation is so bad in China today that paper money is required by the bale, and single notes are practically worthless.

## A Long War for China

(Concluded from page 1)

machinery and materials she needed to equip her armies.

But China did not capitulate. The Nationalist government set up a new capital in Chungking. Under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, it mobilized an army. Through almost superhuman efforts, it began the industrialization of wilderness areas in southwestern China. More than 700 factories with 70,000 tons of machinery were transplanted bodily into Free China. Workers and peasants lent their backs to the task of carrying it and walked the hundreds of miles from the occupied east to the new, free west.

Around this tiny nucleus, Free China has since built up 15 new industrial centers. By 1943, Chinese factories were producing 2,000 sets of machine-making equipment, more than 6,000 industrial machines, and a million machine parts a year. These figures are infinitesimal beside our own production statistics, and, admittedly, they fall short of China's prewar industrial output totals. But, achieved against the towering odds the Chinese people faced, they are remarkable.

China's Communists, meanwhile, entrenched themselves in the arid northern province of Shensi, where they had retreated after defeats by the Nationalist forces in the mid-30's. Under political leader Mao Tse-tung and military chieftain Chu Teh, they formed what amounts to an independent state. They too built factories, coaxed crops from barren soil, and fought the Japanese.

The spirit of resistance continued to burn brightly in spite of Japanese victories, lack of outside aid, and the apparently irreparable breach between Nationalists and Communists. There was corruption, there was inefficiency, there was futile sniping between the two hostile Chinese factions. It was charged that there was dictatorship in Chungking, the Nationalist capital, and dictatorship in Yen-an, the Communist headquarters. But there was no capitulation.

When the western Allies became embroiled in the Far Eastern conflict, China became a vital factor in the strategy of the entire war. Because she could be counted on to hold out, tying up part of Japan's military might and standing in the way of her fur-

ther advancement on the Asiatic mainland, the United Nations were able to pour an overwhelming preponderance of their resources into the European theater and fight relatively minor battles in the Pacific until Germany fell. Because of this, China won the plaudits of all the United Nations.

Her valiant struggle has also won her the promise of a favored postwar position in the world community. In international councils, she sits among the dominant powers. At the Cairo Conference, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill pledged their nations to help restore the territories she has lost to Japan. And the United States has already begun assisting her in planning for reconstruction. In the course of his recent mission to Chungking, former War Production Board Chief Donald M. Nelson worked with Chinese leaders in setting up blueprints for large-scale economic improvement of the country.

But this is only one side of the picture. On the other are problems which rival those China faced in the darkest days of the war. Heading the list of her liabilities is the political deadlock which has divided her people ever since 1927, when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-

shek expelled the Communists from the government and concentrated all authority in himself and his party, the Kuomintang.

The Communists went underground after Chiang disowned them. Those who survived the purges with which the government pursued them tried to set up a provisional regime in the wastelands of southeastern China. For a while there was full-scale warfare between Chiang's troops and the Communist forces. But the government finally succeeded in breaking the back of Communist resistance. Abandoning southeastern China, the Reds marched 4,000 miles to the near-desert which is northern Shensi.

In building up the region, they gave up much of their orthodox Communist ideology in favor of a program of liberal political and agrarian reform. But they did not give up their distrust of Chiang and his supporters. They retained an army and refused all peace offers from the Kuomintang government which involved surrendering it.

The question of the Chinese Red army, now estimated to include half a million regulars and some 2,000,000 organized partisan fighters, is still the chief barrier to accord between the Communists and the central government. As their price for cooperation under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, the Communists demand a substantial representation in the Nationalist government, the promise of greater democracy—including free elections—immediately, and the right to keep independent control of their military forces.

In the past year, Chiang has made numerous offers to the Communists. He has agreed to admit them to a coalition government in which they would be represented equally with the Kuomintang, to institute some of the reforms they demand, and to permit the Communist region a high degree of self-government. He insists, however, that the Red army be placed under the control of the central government.

But the Communists have turned down each suggested compromise, clinging to the assertion that Chiang will destroy them if they are without the protection of their army. As V-J Day moves closer, there is so much bitterness on both sides that many fear civil war as one of the fruits of victory.

The seriousness of this threat to

China is magnified a hundredfold by its international implications. What will be the attitudes of the other powers if China's Nationalists and Communists plunge into civil war as soon as Japan is defeated?

China's disunity, coupled with her economic and social backwardness, kept her at the mercy of the west for centuries. If now her emergence as a strong, modern state is held up by violent internal discord, the old imperialistic interests may once again assert themselves. More important still, the new might of Russia may manifest itself in demands for control of disputed Chinese territory.

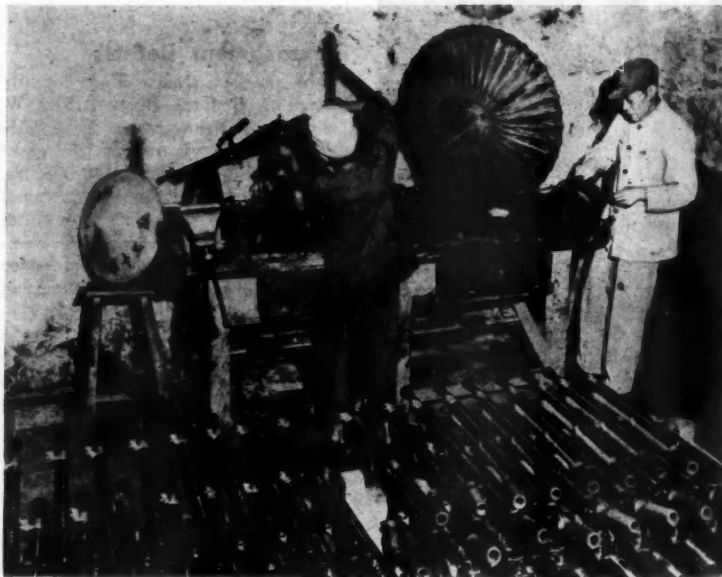
Although Russia's intentions in the war against Japan are still unknown, mounting Soviet interest in the Far East has long been apparent. Not only has the Soviet government concentrated on building up its own Asiatic holdings; it has also played an increasingly influential role in the affairs of adjoining territories.

There is, for example, Sinkiang, huge Chinese province bordering on Soviet Turkestan. Recently, the Russians have been trying to regain their old status as co-administrators of this region. They first won this position in 1932 when a revolt of Moslem tribesmen threatened to unseat the local Chinese government. Russia helped put down the rebellion and took a share of control in provincial affairs as her reward. The Chinese expelled the Russian officials in 1940-41. Now, however, another Moslem revolt has opened the way for Russia to repeat the original maneuver.

For some time now, Russia has also evinced interest in Korea, sponsoring a Korean committee of liberation in Siberia. Her desire for a warm-water Pacific port has long focused her attention on Port Arthur, lying at the end of a little peninsula in southern Manchuria. Her interest in acquiring railroad rights and other privileges in both Manchuria and Inner Mongolia is also well known.

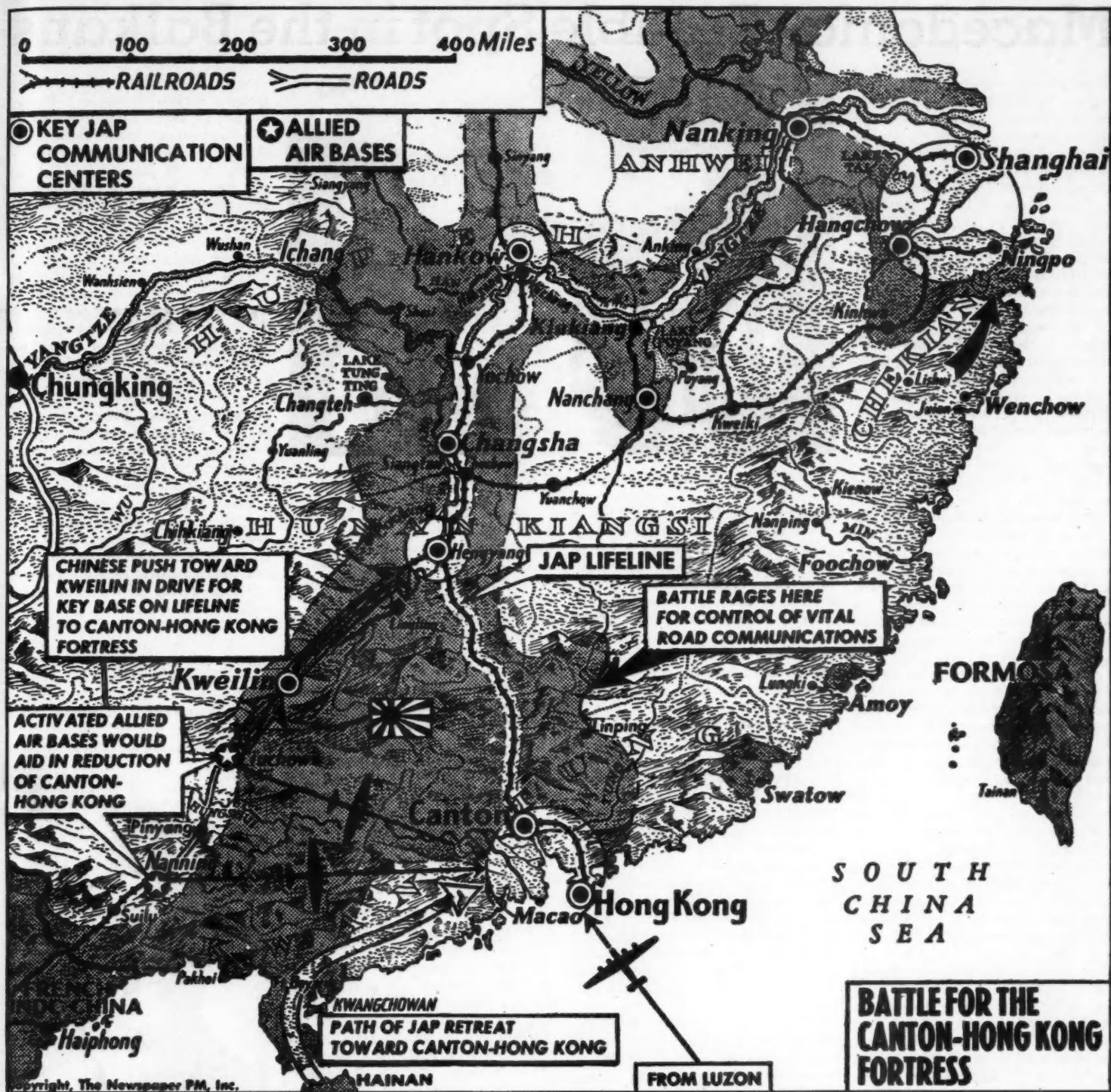
With regard to the Chinese Communists, Russia is currently mysterious. Russian Comintern agents were behind the original organization of the Chinese Communist Party, but, in recent years, the Soviet government has been careful to avoid connection with it. The Chinese Communists themselves, however, are warm admirers of Russia and might attempt to place themselves under Russian protection in order to rid themselves finally of control by the Chungking government. Whether Russia will encourage them to break away from the rest of China completely and establish themselves in a series of buffer states along her frontiers remains to be seen. It is certain, however, that if there is civil war between Chinese Communists and Nationalists, it will redound to the advantage of foreign powers.

Above and beyond these big political issues, China faces a host of difficult domestic problems. The physical reconstruction of her devastated territory will be a tremendous task. Besides this, she will have to reorganize her economic life, virtually from the ground up, if she is to take her place as a modern nation. She will also have to come to grips with the ignorance and political naivete of her huge population before she can establish truly democratic ways of life. Thus, for China the end of the struggle which has occupied her for almost a decade will mean danger and a challenge to hard work as well as the hope and satisfaction of victory.



China's industries, though pitifully small by comparison with those of the United States, are performing wonders in the western hideouts to which they retreated early in the war.





## China and the Battles Ahead

LAST winter China suffered some of the most serious reverses of the war when Japanese troops captured a number of American air bases in southeast China and established a land corridor running all the way from Manchuria to Indo-China. Not only were American fliers forced to destroy much valuable equipment and move their bases inland where their effectiveness was greatly reduced; in addition large areas held by the Chinese in eastern China were cut off from Chungking, the capital, and favorable chances for early American landings on the China coast were reduced. The Japanese, on the other hand, were able by their victories to supply their troops in Southeast Asia and exploit the rich resources of their stolen empire more effectively.

Within only six months this situation has radically changed in our favor. Fast-moving Chinese troops—perhaps reinforced by crack troops fresh from the Burma victory, and supplied

with American equipment coming over the new Stilwell Road—have been forcing the enemy out of South China. As this is written, Chungking has announced the recapture of the sixth former United States Fourteenth Air Force Base given up last winter to the Japanese. And there are indications that the shrinking Japanese life-line to Indo-China may soon be cut entirely.

The American air bases recaptured so far are Suichwan, Yungning (Nanning), Liuchow, Tanchuk, Sinceng, and Kanhsien. In the case of Liuchow, extensive mining by the enemy had turned the air base into an enormous booby trap, thus handicapping the Americans in their efforts to put the base into use again. But the first of the three bases were retaken almost intact, so that operations can start very soon from them. They will be particularly valuable for attacks against the vital port area of Hong Kong and Canton, and the Hankow-Canton rail line.

Other Chinese drives are aimed at clearing as much of the China coast as possible. A great part of eastern China has remained in Chinese hands throughout the war, but the enemy has held the strategic port areas and industrial centers. However, the Chinese retook Foochow some time ago, and are now pressing the Japanese so hard that they are retreating from the coastal area between Hong Kong and the French Indo-China border.

But perhaps the most important single development is the destruction of the Japanese air force in China. At Kunming, a few days ago, Lieutenant General Claire Chennault told a press conference that the Fourteenth Air Force has completed its objective of driving Japanese planes from the skies over China and Burma. The Fourteenth now turns its attention to supporting the Chinese ground forces.

General Chennault said that enemy air force units have been drained out of the whole of Southeast Asia and

even from the home islands to Manchuria, which is strongly equipped. He urged that United States forces seize Chinese ports very soon so that the flow of war materials to the Chinese could be swelled. Then it will be possible, he said, for the Chinese themselves to carry the heavy part of the fighting to drive the Japanese completely out of China. If the Japanese do give up South China, they may well fall back to the Yangtze River and eventually to the Great Wall itself, with much shorter defense lines.

Whatever the Japanese forces may choose to do, it is a fact that all of them on the Asiatic mainland are laboring under an increasing disadvantage due to the Allied blockade which is cutting many of their supply lines with Japan. It may be that they have stockpiled against this day, or that they can supply most of their wants from the mainland itself. At any rate, they can no longer feel secure in depending on the homeland.

# Macedonia—Trouble Spot in the Balkans

If the average person were questioned about Macedonia, he would be hard put to tell exactly where or what this area is, or why it is of any importance. Yet for at least three-quarters of a century Macedonia has been the most bitter of the political problems of the turbulent Balkans. During that time it has been the scene of prolonged and violent terror seldom equalled in modern Europe; it has occasioned two wars and several revolutions, and the dispute over it is credited with greatly lengthening the First World War.

The recently reported outbreak of violence on the Greek-Yugoslav border indicates that the Macedonian question is far from dead. And, as the question is reopened in the tumult of Europe's postwar transformation, the sound and fury of this ancient Balkan feud is perceived to have new and significant overtones from the clashing rivalry of Europe's two greatest powers.

It is impossible to set exact boundaries for Macedonia, since it has never been a political or administrative unit in modern times. Roughly speaking, it fills the southern end of modern Yugoslavia (the section known as South Serbia), with its eastern fringe in Bulgaria and its southern portion in Greece.

In the days of Alexander the Great, Macedonia was mistress of half the known world, the ruler of an empire stretching all the way to India. After the fall of the Greek empire, however, Macedonia became a pawn of other empires—Roman, Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian, Turkish—and the shifting tides of invasions sweeping through this Balkan crossroads left an amazingly complex medley of peoples.

The dominant group is of Slavic blood, closely related to both the Serbs and the Bulgars, and the prevailing language is Slavic, akin to Bulgarian. But there are Greeks, Turks, Wallachians, Albanians, Gypsies, Jews, and other peoples, all contributing to an ethnic confusion so great that from the name of this area is derived the word *macedoine*, meaning "a culinary mixture." This confusion has been the source of most of Macedonia's troubles, and it is not helped by the fact that there are seven religious sects, including four branches of the Orthodox Church.

Bernard Newman, in his excellent books on the Balkans, points out that Macedonia is not a particularly attractive region. "I have often wondered,"



A Yugoslav village near the region of Macedonia

he says, "why its possession should have occasioned such continuous bloodshed. Its valleys are green in spring but parched in autumn. Its mountains make communications difficult. Its soil is not very fertile, but the extreme poverty of its people may be explained rather by the wars which have ravaged it. To assist in its record of misery, it lies on both the earthquake and the malaria belts of southern Europe."

The modern Macedonian problem grew out of the 19th Century struggle by the Balkan Christians to get free of Turkish tyranny. Like their neighbors, the Macedonians wished independence, and they were willing to accept outside aid. But as the Greeks, the Serbs, and the Bulgars secured their freedom, one by one, each looked upon Macedonia—still under the Turkish heel—as an unredeemed part of itself, and each made of Macedonia a bloody battleground for its own expansionist ideas. Schools, churches, newspapers, and other cultural institutions were freely used for propaganda purposes.

Bulgaria particularly carried the Macedonian torch, for Bulgaria herself was the last of the three lower Balkan states to win independence, and the Bulgarian people were the closest kinfolk of the Macedonian Slavs. In 1877-1878 she joined Russia to defeat Turkey, and the resulting Treaty of San Stefano granted to the newly freed Bulgaria a large area to the west, including all of Macedonia.

But the Western powers, and especially Britain, were alarmed by this development, for they were even then suspicious of Russia and wished to maintain Turkey as a bulwark against the Tsars. So the Congress of Berlin was called; the map of the Balkans was redrawn without reference to the wishes of the Balkan peoples. Bulgaria was whittled down to an unimportant principality, and Macedonia was handed back to Turkish rule. This explains not only why Bulgaria fought against the Western Allies in 1915 and 1941, but it goes far in explaining why this Balkan quarrel has been so bitter.

Neither the Macedonians nor the Bulgarians accepted the Berlin settlement quietly. In 1893 two Bulgarian school teachers formed an underground patriotic organization known as the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO). Its method was terror, a technique in which Macedonians excelled. Its cry was "Liberty or Death for Macedonia," and its appeal was tremendously popular. At first it fought the Turks; later it fought the Serbs, the Greeks, and the Bulgars, and in recent years it has fought within itself, splitting into three factions. But at all times it has played a dominant role in the sanguinary and never-ending Macedonian struggle.

This struggle came to a climax with the two Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, both of which were fought over Macedonia. The first one freed the area from Turkey; the second decided how the spoils should be divided. Serbia took the lion's share; Greece retained the vital port of Salonika and its Macedonian hinterland. Bulgaria got only a small portion to the east. Even this fragment was nibbled away after Bulgaria backed the wrong side in World War I.

During the 1920's IMRO blossomed into full fury, sending its *komitadj* (irregular) bands across the Bulgarian frontier into Yugoslavian Macedonia to raid the countryside and keep the Macedonian independence question alive. The Yugoslavian government unwisely followed the policy of "Serbizing" the Macedonians, and of stamping out every form of Bulgarian culture or of Macedonian patriotism. This served only to add fuel to the flames; tension between the Yugoslav and Bulgarian governments became serious as repeated waves of murder,

torture, atrocity, and counter-atrocity ravaged hapless Macedonia. It was, in fact, an IMRO assassin (hired by the Croats) who assassinated Yugoslavia's King Alexander in 1934.

Only late in the 1930's did these outrages die down. In 1941 Bulgaria got part of Yugoslavian Macedonia as a gift from Hitler, but she has been forced to give it back and her claims are now more forlorn than ever.

It is perhaps surprising that the latest Macedonian outbreak should involve not Bulgaria but Greece, for Greece in 1922 took a long step in solving her Macedonian problem by expelling most of the Macedonian Serbs from her borders, in order to make room for Greeks expelled from Turkey at the same time. Yet the Tito government now claims that Macedonians in Greece are suffering under a reign of terror and are being driven from their homes into Yugoslavia.

It may be, as the Greek government asserts, that outlaw bands are responsible for this violence, and that it is an anti-Slav reaction in the aftermath of Bulgarian (Slav) occupation of part of Greece during the war. But this is only a partial explanation.

Marshal Tito has met the demands for Macedonian independence by permitting the establishment of autonomous Macedonia—with a government at Skopje—as a unit in the new federated Yugoslavia. Moreover, there are indications that Tito has ambitions toward the Greek port of Salonika, and



Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia

has encouraged the Macedonians to "reunite themselves" with their kinsmen in Greece. In light of these facts, the Greek campaign of terror may be designed to rid Greek Macedonia of as many Slavs as possible and to forestall a Macedonian irredentist movement.

As in the case of Austria and Trieste, Macedonia brings the ambitions of Britain and Russia into conflict; Greece has been for many decades an important part of Britain's imperial security system, while the new Yugoslav government is clearly a protégé of the USSR. How far will the Soviet back Tito in unifying the southern Slavs? Does Russia have ambitions toward control of Salonika? Is Britain encouraging Greece to resist Yugoslav and Soviet ambitions? These questions suggest that Macedonia is again becoming a pawn in the game of power politics, as it was at the time of the Congress of Berlin, and that a renewed dispute over Macedonia could seriously strain relations between Europe's major allies.



FROM "THE NEW EUROPE" BY BERNARD NEWMAN

Macedonia overlaps national boundaries



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